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TWENTY YEARS OF THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

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CEREMONIAL ADDRESS AND SPEECHES AT THE FESTIVE CEREMONY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY OF GERMANY, THE STATE COUNCIL OF THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC, THE MINISTRY COUNCIL OF THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC AND THE PRESIDIUM OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE NATIONAL FRONT OF DEMOCRATIC GERMANY

ON OCCASION OF THE 20th ANNIVERSARY
OF THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC
ON 6 OCTOBER 1969



SURVEY OF THE PAST AND GLANCE AT THE FUTURE ON THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Ceremonial Address by
WALTER ULBRICHT,
First Secretary of the Central Committee
of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany
and Chairman of the GDR State Council,
on the 20th Anniversary of the Foundation of the
German Democratic Republic

Dear Comrades,
Dear Friends,
Citizens of the German Democratic Republic,

During these days we celebrate the 20th anniversary of the German Democratic Republic, a festival for all citizens of our state and all citizens of the Socialist community of states, and of all friends of the GDR throughout the world.

Twenty years ago the imperialist western powers and the West German monopolists split Germany because they feared that the antifascist-democratic forces in West Germany would also prevail. Thus the people of the German Democratic Republic were faced with the task of beginning a new epoch in German history and fulfilling the duties of all Germans laid down in the Potsdam Agreement from the Eastern part of Germany: the duty to extirpate militarism and nazism and put an end to the rule of the big monopolies.

The victory of the Soviet armies and their allies over Hitlerite fascism gave us the great opportunity to put an end to the vicious circle of crisis –boom–war which had hitherto prevailed and create guarantees that war would never again start from German soil.

Thus 7 October 1949 was the great turning-point towards the emergence of the first German peace state which, as a result of its policy of peace, humanism and Socialism, has gained the position of the legitimate German state.

We are happy today because it has been possible for our people to show to all other nations that it is possible to build up the workers' and farmers' state, the first German peace state, out of the country of militarism, of concentration camps and dictatorship of the monopolies. Who can deny that the Socialist social order of the German Democratic Republic is today an entire historical period ahead of West German late capitalism, with its social insecurity and its exploiter system?

Yes, we citizens of the GDR have brought about the decisive change in the history of the German people in the first twenty years of our democratic and Socialist construction and have for the first time set up a genuinely human society, a German state which belongs to the people and serves their interests. Our Socialist system of government, our economic system of Socialism, our Socialist educational system, the development of a Socialist national culture, all show what our people could and can achieve

after putting an end to the rule of the big monopolies, militarism, the big landowners and fascism.

Today, on the 20th anniversary of the German Democratic Republic, we can report with a good conscience to our friends, the glorious Soviet people, that the tremendous sacrifices made by the Soviet Army in the struggle to liberate Germany from Hitlerite fascism were not in vain. The citizens of the GDR have not spared themselves. They have worked tirelessly not only to tear up imperialism root and branch, but have also built up the Socialist state of the German nation, which is closely allied with the Soviet Union. Unbreakable friendship links us to our immediate neighbours, the People's Republic of Poland and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, and to the other states of the Socialist community. Standing shoulder to shoulder, the fighters of the armies of the Warsaw Treaty states can be relied on to protect the western frontier of the Socialist community of states.

On the threshold of the third decade of the GDR, and mindful of the social progress achieved, we remember with deep gratitude and love the great teachers of scientific Communism and great leaders of the international revolutionary movement, Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, and Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. And we remember with deep affection Comrade Wilhelm Pieck, the first President of the German Democratic Republic, and Comrade Otto Grotewohl, the first Chairman of the Council of Ministers of our Socialist state.

Comrades and friends from many countries are celebrating the 20th anniversary of the GDR here with us. We are moved by the high honour thus accorded our state and all its citizens. We see in it an expression of recognition of our twenty years' work in the cause of internationalism, peace and understanding between the peoples. Berlin, once the capital of the German state from which two world wars started, today unites the envoys of the peoples who celebrate the birthday of the first German peace state together with us. We request these envoys from all over the world to assure their people that the GDR will also do its utmost in the future to see that war never again starts from German soil.

I.
The Genuinely Human Order in the GDR is the Work of Millions

Many people of other countries speak of the miracle of the GDR. The secret of this miracle was and is a realistic policy which accords with the vital interests of the German people. Guided by the scientific theories of Marxism-Leninism and the experience of a century of struggle by the German working class movement, the party of the united working class, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, showed the people, in the period of their greatest need, the road to peace, democracy and Socialism. Above all, the mistakes and illusions of 1918 had to be avoided. The most important thing was to extirpate the roots of war, fascism and militarism, destroy the old state power and build up a new Germany of peace, democracy and progress. It was a matter of creating guarantees that the reactionary forces could not again force the people into a false course.

The forward-looking program of the Socialist Unity Party and of the antifascist-democratic bloc parties showed the people a new course, the course of antifascist-democratic transformation. Here the working class, in alliance with the working peasants and the intelligentsia, demonstrated their capacity to build up the state. The SED and the antifascist-democratic bloc parties allied with it succeeded in building up planned Socialist economy and took the democratic course of transition from capitalism to Socialism.

In this way, twenty years ago, the way was prepared for the Socialist epoch in German history. The Socialist Unity Party and the National Front of Democratic Germany and all progressive citizens of our Republic were faced by the historic task of demonstrating that there is a peaceable and democratic path for our people. The working class, never responsible for war, exploitation and racial hatred, had to show that they were capable of uniting all democratic and progressive forces and, guided by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, of building up a new government and economic system which would lead the people to peace, freedom and happiness.

Thanks to All Citizens of Our State

Today, on the 20th anniversary of the GDR, we can state with deep satisfaction that the working people have honourably fulfilled this task.

In an historically short period, the citizens of the GDR have achieved results unique in the history of our nation. How much effort and hard work, how much understanding and cleverness, how much courage and steadfastness have been shown in these memorable twenty years by millions of working people working together on this great task! The praise and thanks of the entire people are due to them all, wherever they were placed. Hearty thanks, dear friends and comrades!

Permit me to illustrate by a new figures what great results have emerged as a result of the peaceable, creative work done by the working people of the GDR in the past twenty years.

The annual national income in the GDR now exceeds 100 thousand million marks and is thus four times as much as it was in 1949. Industry now produces five times as much as in the first year of our Republic. What was produced in one year in the engineering and automobile engineering industries at that time can now be produced in one month and 27 days. Workers in the electrical engineering and electronics industry need only one month and ten days to produce that amount. It now takes only ten months in our Republic to produce as much as the whole of pre-war capitalist Germany produced in a year.

Trusts–Completely Transformed by the People

And how great has been the transformation in the former big trust enterprises since the workers cleared away the rubble, built up the factories again and took them into their own hands! In the nationally-owned "Hans Beimler" works in Hennigsdorf, for example, the workers have increased production fifteen-fold since the former AEG owners were expropriated. The workers, engineers and scientists of the nationally-owned Oberspree cable works which formerly also belonged to AEG are now pace-makers in mastering the scientific and technological revolution. It was they who issued the call to emulation contest in the 20th year of the GDR. Out of the former IG-Farben enterprises, which were almost totally destroyed during the war, our chemical workers have built up modern Socialist combines in which production is no longer for death but for the welfare of the people. Big new modern chemical enterprises were built. And our chemical workers produce ten times as much today as before the second world war. Young activists of the first hard years of re-construction who

at that time enthusiastically followed Adolf Hennecke's example have in the meantime developed into responsible economic functionaries and demonstrate day after day that the working class can manage industry better than the former owners of the big trusts.

Cooperative farmers and agricultural workers in our Republic have stepped up grain yields by more than half in the past twenty years. Annual market production of livestock for slaughter increased from 380,000 to 1,620,000 tons, of milk from 1,780,000 to 6,530,000 tons. These great results were possible as a result of Socialist transformation of our agriculture, of success in uniting working farmers in agricultural production cooperatives, and as a result of Socialist team work, joint planning and management of cooperative work. Here the working class and the Socialist state power gave generous assistance.

From the Scythe to Complex Use of Machinery

Working peasants who had to use scythes and sickles to bring in the harvest on the fields distributed to them after the big landed estates were taken over by the state are now building up agricultural production on modern, highly mechanized lines. They make use of complex machinery produced in our nationally-owned industry and apply the latest scientific knowledge. They have completely changed the appearance of the villages and are demonstrating convincingly the superiority of Socialist agriculture.

A tremendous change has also taken place in education. Capitalism left behind a school system which served exploitation and war preparations. Four out of every ten primary schools were one-class schools and only one out of every ten had classes for all eight school years. Today our integrated Socialist educational system offers the young generation all possibilities to prepare for the tasks of the year 2000. In 1969 four-fifths of all children of 14 to 15 passed into the next higher form of the ten-year or twelve-year polytechnical high school. The number of university students has increased five-fold, of technical college students nine-fold. We started in 1949 with 18 universities. There are now 56. Our new intelligentsia has grown up out of the working people and they are now mastering the third university reform, organizing large-scale Socialist research and developing science as a productive force for the benefit of the people.

The average monthly gross income of the workers in Socialist industry has much more than doubled in the first twenty years of the workers' and farmers' power. In the retail trade network, turnover has increased 4.2 times in foodstuffs, 4.5 times in textiles, clothing and shoes and 5.2 times in other industrial goods. Today every second family has a washing machine and a TV set. As a result of the splendid achievements of the workers, the GDR was able to introduce the legal five-day week. Working hours were reduced to $43^3/_4$ or 42 hours a week and minimum paid holidays increased to fifteen days.

The Bitterfeld Path to a Socialist National Culture

The working people in the GDR have found their way into the fields of art and culture, which had hitherto been mainly the preserve of the ruling minority. Our book production, for example, has tripled since the foundation of our Republic. Along the lines determined by the Bitterfeld Cultural Conferences our artists and cultural workers worked out the foundations of a Socialist national culture and formed firm links with the people. Evidence of this can be clearly seen in new works of literature, drama and film, architecture and visual art, painting and music, radio drama and other genres, and to no small extent in the achievements of our TV art in honour of this anniversary of our Socialist German state, which will lend wings to our further Socialist progress.

Thus the twenty years' history of our Republic is full of examples of the ability and strength of a people who have freed themselves from imperialist exploitation and oppression, taken government and economic power into their own hands and, led by the Marxist-Leninist Party of the working class, are building up their own future with a clear understanding of their aims. Thanks to the creative theoretical and political-organizational work of the Socialist Unity Party, its Central Committee and its Politbureau, thanks to their firm unity and alliance with the people, it was possible to master even the most complicated processes of transition from capitalism to Socialism. Our people can be proud today of their Marxist-Leninist vanguard which, as a result of its far-sighted scientific work and highly developed organization, shows the way to be taken by the GDR towards a modern Socialist order of society, towards mastering the scientific and technological revolution and developing a Socialist national culture.

Shaping Genuinely Humanist Conditions

We owe to the great German scientists and revolutionaries Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels the knowledge that man is the product of his social conditions and that it is therefore a question of shaping these conditions in a humanist way. This task, to shape social relations in a humanist way, has been successfully fulfilled in the GDR. This state of ours has grown up as the work of millions of its people. They have transformed themselves by transforming society in two revolutions in accordance with the deeply humanist teachings of Marxism-Leninism. The German Democratic Republic in its 20th year is the result of the innumerable good deeds and great achievements of millions of ordinary people.

Both friends and enemies of our country have often said that the transformation of the people is one of the most significant achievements of the GDR. Yes, we entered our course with people the majority of whom had followed behind their fascist rulers, produced arms for them and occupied other countries. The liberation of the people from the poison of imperialist and fascist ideology, conversion to a humanist outlook on life, education and self-education in the process of work for Socialist transformation were from the beginning the most important tasks of our Party.

For the sake of truth we must say today that at first it was only a minority which determinedly and purposefully pushed forward into new regions. These were the same people who had defied fascism, made great sacrifices in the struggle and thus upheld the honour of the German working class and the German people. It is the greatest service of this political vanguard that they patiently and step by step won over the majority of the working people, despite all difficulties, to take an active part in the struggle for peace, democracy and Socialism and helped the entire people to see their future in terms of peaceable work.

Our Alliance Brought Forth Good Fruit

The alliance of the working class with the working farmers, the intelligentsia, craftsmen and other strata of society, which developed and increased in stability in the course of the struggle for the antifascist-democratic and the Socialist transformation, is the stable foundation for our success in the past twenty years. Comradely democratic cooperation

between the Socialist Unity Party and the Christian-Democratic Union, the Liberal Democratic Party, the National Democratic Party and the Democratic Farmers' Party was successful and has born good fruit. This joint work within the National Front of Democratic Germany strengthened the political-moral unity of our people under the leadership of the working class. All this has greatly contributed to enabling us to solve problems connected with building up the new society in a creative way, linking up the interests of the various strata of society with those of society as a whole and drawing millions of citizens into Socialist construction. Step by step we have worked out the shaping of Socialist society and carried out these great tasks. We have not by-passed any necessary phase of development. In this way in particular we have helped citizens to understand more clearly the deeper meaning of our social development and to take an active part in planning and guiding our social progress.

Unlike even the wealthiest capitalist countries, every citizen in the GDR has the chance to find a place for himself within society as a whole, in accordance with his abilities and possibilities, and to have a share in shaping social life. Development of Socialist democracy in the government organs and in the working people's social organizations, cooperation of women and young people on an equal footing, and applying to daily life the new Constitution decided upon by the people—all this forms the basis for ever-strengthening political unity of will and action amongst all citizens.

Our New Human Community

In the course of the revolutionary process of democratic and peaceful transition from capitalism to Socialism the working class enormously increased its strength and energy. It grew and proved its value as the new ruling class, as the unifying, society-forming and leading force amongst the people. More and more workers and other working people learned to make use of the new social power, to detect and master new problems which emerged. They trained and developed into Socialist personalities by facing up to the not inconsiderable difficulties and overcoming them in joint effort. Working women, freed from centuries-old bonds, took over the rights and duties accruing to them and everywhere demonstrated what they could do. They became an important factor for social progress without which the successes of the GDR over the past twenty years would

be unthinkable. The youth of our country developed along with the responsibilities entrusted to them. They are bringing their own youthful enthusiasm into the solution of new problems and distinguishing themselves by their daring and original suggestions and work.

In this way, on the basis of Socialist conditions in the German Democratic Republic, a new human community took shape over the past twenty years. Relations between citizens are becoming more and more determined by purposeful joint work for the good of all, by a Socialist world outlook, by the morals and ethics of Socialist equality, freedom and brotherhood, by common responsibility for the progress of our Socialist state. German-Soviet friendship lives in the hearts of the people; the spirit of fraternal cooperation with the Polish and Czechoslovak people and with all the peoples of the Socialist community of states, and solidarity with all anti-imperialist forces and with all peace-loving peoples have taken firm root.

When we look back over our course from the clearing away of the ruins down to Socialist construction we are aware of the fact that our great successes would not have been possible without the Soviet people's act of liberation, without the Soviet Army's protection of our work of construction, without the constant fraternal aid of the Soviet Union, without the increasingly close cooperation between the CPSU and the SED, and between our two countries in all fields. The development of German-Soviet friendship was also a complicated process. Under the conditions of the great world-wide political struggle—"Who wins out over whom?" German-Soviet friendship was welded more and firmly in cooperation in national economic planning and in reaching the highest scientific and technological standards, in joint activities to strengthen the Socialist community of states, in the cause of unity of the international Communist movement and above all in further developing Marxist-Leninist theory and its creative application to daily life.

II.
The German Democratic Republic Factor for Peace and Security in Europe

Our work can only succeed in peace. That is why consistent support of peace and security is a fundamental element of the policy of our state. We do not over-estimate our possibilities. It gives us all the greater satisfac-

tion that already, in the first twenty years of its existence, and more and more in the practice of consolidating its alliance with the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Treaty states, the German Democratic Republic has proved its value as a solid factor for peace and security in Europe.

As the bastion of peace in the heart of Europe, our Socialist state is the conscience of the entire German nation, because we are doing our utmost to prevent a war from ever again starting from German soil, because we form a barrier against the aggressive plans and conspiracies of West German imperialism, militarism and neo-nazism, and because we uphold the cause of humanism and peace. The considerable human, political and economic, scientific and cultural potentials of the GDR have not only been withdrawn for all time from the sphere of rule of the West German imperialists. This will also, in the coming decade, add weight and strength to the cause of Socialism, peace and security throughout Europe. We regard it as a matter of course that the nations of Europe are paying increasing attention to this historic state of affairs. The majority of the neutral countries in Europe and even of the NATO countries are against a united Germany under the command of West German imperialism.

The GDR Has Fulfilled the Terms of the Potsdam Agreement

With the German Democratic Republic, a state of the German nation whose people have raised to a basic constitutional principle a foreign policy which serves the cause of peace and Socialism, international understanding and security is for the first time in history a part of the body of European states. This fact, and its consistent conquest of the reactionary past and fulfilment of the duty of all Germans, laid down in the Potsdam Agreement, to extirpate militarism and nazism and restrict the rule of the big monopolies, raises the GDR to the rank of the German state of peace, democracy and Socialism to whom the future belongs.

Peace policy, humanism and Socialism are at the same time the firm foundation for further development of all-round cooperation and friendship with the USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia and the other Socialist countries. This friendship has been outstandingly beneficial for the welfare of our people over the past twenty years. Anchored in the Constitution, it will also safeguard peace and security to our people and state in the coming years and inspire and speed up our progress in all fields. Our

consistent policy of unity of the Socialist community of peoples and states and of proletarian internationalism also accords with this aim.

We welcome the Soviet Union's latest initiative for the purpose of stabilizing international security. The draft Appeal to all Countries which Foreign Minister Gromyko explained at the 24th UN General Assembly, accords with the interests of the GDR. The Soviet Union's peace appeal is a wide-ranging document which accords with the interests of all peoples and serves to promote understanding in the interest of peace.

We recall that after the defeat of the nazi aggressors the nations joined together to lay the foundations for the United Nations Organization. It was founded as an instrument of international cooperation to prevent a new war. Important steps would be taken to this end if the US war of aggression in Vietnam were stopped, if the Israeli occupationist troops quit the territory of the Arab states and guaranteed a political settlement by peaceful means in the Near East, and if the dangers of militarism, revanchism and neo-nazism emanating from Bonn were banned. The great aim of securing world peace also demands that the principle of universality be asserted in UNO. This calls for membership of all countries. The admission of the GDR to membership of UNO is of special importance, since this would promote détente and serve the cause of peace in Europe.

Appeal to All Countries and Peoples of Europe

The 25th anniversary of the foundation of the United Nations encourages us to appeal to all states and peoples of Europe, especially to the West German Federal Republic, to make a genuine contribution to détente by recognizing the existing frontiers in Europe, including the frontier between the GDR and the West German Federal Republic, and by concluding a treaty on renunciation of the use of force. In particular, the West German Federal Republic must abandon its revanchist claim to sole representation of the German people and renounce all atomic armament. If this were done, it would be possible to put the principles of peaceful coexistence into practice in relations between the German Democratic Republic and the West German Federal Republic. This would constitute an important step forward towards European security.

We desire cooperation with all countries on a basis of equality and mutual respect. In accordance with its Constitution, the GDR has in the

past twenty years done all in its power to assist the peoples oppressed by imperialism and struggling for freedom and independence, and it will continue to do this.

Friendly and fruitful relations have developed with a number of those countries which have taken an anti-imperialist and non-capitalist course after shaking off the imperialist yoke. This applies especially to the friendly relations with the Arab and other liberated emergent states. Close cooperation with some of these countries has been placed on a secure footing under international law by the establishment of diplomatic relations, and thus considerably improved.

We Practise Active Solidarity With Vietnam

I guarantee, on behalf of the government and people of the German Democratic Republic, that we shall continue to do our very utmost to assist the heroic Vietnamese people, who are defending their rights against the barbaric aggression of the US imperialists. We demand the withdrawal of the US aggressors from Vietnam. The Arab peoples and countries exposed to shameless imperialist aggression can also be assured of our sympathy and support. We protest against the interference of the West German federal government in the affairs of other countries on the grounds of the so-called Hallstein Doctrine and other neo-colonialist expansionist aspirations.

Our trade relations with a number of capitalist countries have developed well. But our cooperation with capitalist countries on the basis of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems is unfortunately hindered by the fact that many of these countries permit the West German Federal Republic to dictate to them in their policy towards the GDR. This certainly cannot be reconciled with the neutral attitude which some of these countries claim to have. Neutrality would mean equal relations to both German states.

With regard to relations to the international working-class movement and to the progressive movements, we shall always act in accordance with the joint statement of the International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties. We feel very closely linked up with all Communist and workers' parties and all democratic, progressive and peace-loving forces in the world.

Bonn's Efforts to Obtain Atomic Weapons Means Suicide

Comrade Gromyko, Soviet Foreign Minister, is right when he warns against the great danger hanging over the European nations, the cause of which is to be seen in the revival of militarism, revanchism and neo-nazism in the Federal Republic. Every sensible person should realize that the share in control of atomic weapons which Bonn demands would be suicide. Any attempt to revise the European frontiers would mean war. Twenty-five years after the Second World War, all Bonn's plans to extend the power of West German militarism to the territory of the GDR have failed completely. Adenauer had to take his plans for revenge into the grave with him. The revanchist claim to sole representation of the German people put forward by Kiesinger and Strauss has only hindered normalization of relations between the two German states. The efforts of Herr Brandt to copy Stresemann's policy and leave the question of the frontiers to the East open so as to be able to wait for a suitable time to change them in the future are also without prospects of success. "The inviolability of the state frontiers in Europe, including the Oder-Neisse frontier and the frontier between the German Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic, is the sine qua non for a stable peace in this part of the world", Foreign Minister Gromyko stressed in the United Nations General Assembly.

One could only, he went on, "express surprise and concern at the attitude of those countries which consciously or unconsciously encouraged plans to revise the results of the Second World War, especially, too, by supporting discrimination against the German Democratic Republic in the United Nations."

> "It would in fact be a change for the good in the threatening situation, if West Germany recognized historical realities in Europe, including the socialist German Democratic Republic." West Germany would thus also be helping itself, its own peace and security.

We are and will remain ready to cooperate with and normalize our relations to all countries. We continue to adhere to the principle of peaceful coexistence between states with different social orders.

Our offer of peaceful coexistence and good-neighbourly relations on the basis of equality and mutual respect also applies to the West German Federal Republic.

But it is impossible to understand how representatives of the Bonn government can in one breath state that they abide by the claim to sole representation of the German people but are also prepared to enter into negotiations with the GDR on a basis of equality, out of which, however, no treaty or agreement valid under international law must emerge. The West German politicians must understand that negotiations must serve peace. Subjects for a treaty would be agreements on renouncing the use of force, on recognizing frontiers and on non-interference in the internal affairs of the other state. But these are all problems of international law. For this reason, therefore, treaties or agreements on renunciation of force or on normalizing relations would have to be valid under international law.

The citizens of the German Democratic Republic made convincing, worthy and good use of their right to self-determination in a free, democratic referendum on the constitution of the Socialist state of the German nation. Our people have decided in the referendum on their future, their Socialist course, their social and government order—once and for all. In the West German Federal Republic, on the other hand, the people are still deprived of their right to self-determination. They were never able to express a decision on whether or not they want re-armament, delivery up to NATO policy, a policy of preparation for an atomic war, or restoration of the power of monopoly capital. There is here a great deal to be made good in the matter of self-determination.

We take up our position in favour of peaceful coexistence, establishment of good-neighbourly relations—in regard to the West German Federal Republic, too—relations regulated and guaranteed through treaties valid under international law, such as are necessary between sovereign states. But whoever does not want internationally valid treaties between the GDR and the West German Federal Republic obviously wishes to leave the door open for a policy of liquidating the GDR in favour of rule by West German monopoly capital and its Bundeswehr. No one can expect us to support such intentions.

But we do want to have peaceful coexistence and good-neighbourly relations. This is a position in favour of understanding. It has nothing to do with "maximum demands". We have never demanded that the Bonn government should put its signature to a "Communist time-table for the future of West Germany". Herr Kiesinger, who claims this, obviously has

a far too high opinion of himself if he thinks that we should consider him a suitable person to introduce democratic and Socialist developments in West Germany. At all events, if there are to be rapprochement and good-neighbourly relations between the two sovereign German states, there must be a development of democracy in West Germany and militarism and neo-nazism must be overcome.

What do the peace forces demand from the Bonn government? They demand that on the threshold of the third decade of the legal existence of the German Democratic Republic and the West German Federal Republic, which was set up as a separate state through the Paris Treaties, those governing in Bonn should abandon their shadow-boxing.

The new West German government should sign the nuclear weapons non-proliferation treaty without delay or conditions and renounce production, storage or use of atomic, bacteriological and chemical weapons. They should be prepared to take measures in the disarmament field. They should at last abandon the revanchist claim to represent the whole of Germany and, in the interests of European security and peace, at last recognize all the European frontiers, including the German Democratic Republic frontiers. And they should dissolve the neo-nazi party and clean neo-nazism out of the West German government apparatus, the Bundeswehr and the judiciary.

On the threshold of the third decade of the first German peace state, whose policy accords with the principles of the Potsdam Agreement, we appeal to the citizens of the West German Federal Republic to recognize the realities arising out of the Second World War, evaluate the relation of forces in a realistic way and see that all revanchist illusions are thrown overboard!

The German Democratic Republic will in the coming decade continue to pursue consistently its policy of peace and security and do its utmost to promote the great peace aspirations of the European peoples and nations. We shall continue in this sense to give our utmost support to the efforts to prepare and conduct an all-European security conference, in which the German Democratic Republic will take part on an equal footing and with the same status as all other European countries. For we see here a possibility to arrive at an agreed system of European security for all European countries, large and small, which could also constitute a solid pillar for world peace.

III.
The GDR–the Modern Socialist German State to which the Future Belongs

The Socialist System Functions!

Since the Sixth Party Congress of the Socialist Unity Party our most important task has been to work out Socialism as an all-round social system, to organize it as such a system and to make it function better and better.

What does it mean to shape Socialism as an all-round social system? It means understanding that our joint life and action does not fall into various compartments which have little to do with each other and in fact proceed separately. It means understanding that science and production, education, culture and sport, our entire social life, is very closely linked together and that great achievements can only result if there is good co-operation between the various parts of the system.

The big upsurge in economy, organization of science and education came after the Seventh Party Congress. The importance of this Congress consisted in the fact that it not only evaluated past experience in social, economic and intellectual development and stressed peak achievements, but that it also presented a forecast of developments in the GDR into the 1980's.

This clear aim encouraged and inspired people. With this aim in view, and bearing comparisons with world peak achievements in mind, the development of Socialist society was linked up with the upsurge in the scientific and technological revolution. The Seventh Party Congress provided the basic lines for the structure of economic and scientific developments in the GDR. In this way the people were inspired to develop all their abilities. It was possible to master hitherto unknown technological processes. All this was not easy, for looking forward into future developments made it necessary to supplement or change many plans in industry and to abandon old habits in production.

At the same time everything possible was done to develop the planning system further and to derive targets for the subsystems from the over-all aims of the social system as a whole. On this basis specific relations and proportions between the sub-systems in regard to quality, quantity and time must be organized and adhered to.

We all know that material production must function and labour productivity increase if we want to have an acceptable standard of living. If

things are to continue going forward we must succeed in making use of economic laws of Socialism expertly, in cooperation and each in his place. This also calls for training, skilled training. For a truth which has emerged clearly in recent years is that the prosperity of a country depends to a great extent upon how it succeeds in encouraging and making use of science, and especially upon how it succeeds in making use of the latest scientific knowledge quickly, with a gain in time, in material production.

In order to get the full effect of the results of joint work, a close interrelation between production and the territorial system must be maintained. This includes keeping people well supplied with goods and repair and maintenance services, seeing that they are properly housed and that the transport system functions. We know that all these factors have a very great effect on the willingness to work and thus on labour productivity. The same is true in the broad field of culture and art, sports and recreation. All these things help working people to gather new strength and give them strong intellectual inspiration in their work.

Thus the sub-systems in the developed social system of Socialism work together. They work together like the wheels in a powerful engine which is capable of producing a great deal. The sum total of these sub-systems forms the Socialism with which we change our own world and with which we take part in changing the world in the spirit of Karl Marx and Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, and make it beautiful and attractive.

What is a modern state?

We must understand that a modern Socialist state will only achieve highest effectivity if it functions as a social system as a whole, if the sub-systems in it form a coordinated whole.

In the West German election campaign the terms "modern state" and "modern Germany" were constantly tossed about both by the CDU/CSU and by the SPD. Both parties used them in order to mislead the electorate. For a truly modern state cannot be based upon a fundamentally reactionary social system, in which the multi-millionaires rule over millions of working people and where state power is misused to keep the working people in a condition of social impotence. Thus, Hitler Germany was a barbaric, antediluvian state which murdered millions of people by industrialized methods and provided the trusts with profits in the process. And today neither the

USA nor the West German Federal Republic are modern as states, even though they have recorded great achievements in science and technology, for the roots of barbarism are just as deep with them as under Hitlerite fascism.

Our developed social system of Socialism is far more than only a propulsive force, of course. It is also an unfailing source of the power deriving from the conviction that the working class together with its allies can and will perform every task arising from common requirements and common interests. It has this power because the social system of Socialism is capable of setting millions of people in conscious joint action towards a common goal.

Of course, as a single state we would not be able to solve these problems; we are in a position to do so in collaboration with the Soviet Union and by means of the economic Socialist integration within the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. We have found that by orienting ourselves consistently towards top-level scientific-technological achievements it was possible to join with the Soviet Union in important cooperative agreements and to arrive at a new form of scientific agreements on research problems and that this will be the only successful path to continue on in future.

The Significance of Cooperation with the Soviet Union

Impressive evidence of this is the supplementary agreement signed a few days ago on the mutual exchange of approximately 15 thousand million clearing marks worth of commodities between the GDR and the USSR in 1970. The stable, long-term economic relations between our two countries and our very useful economic and scientific and technological cooperation have resulted in inseparable ties between us.

We are particularly happy to note that the commodity shipments to the extent of 60 thousand million clearing marks agreed upon in the long-term trade agreement for the years 1966–1970 were greatly surpassed in quantity. This is a successful result of developments thus far. The conference between party and government delegations of the GDR and the USSR held in Moscow last July decided on our future joint work.

Cooperation between our two countries is moving more and more beyond the solution of individual production and research tasks and is extending to increasingly complex processes in the shaping of the economic system of

Socialism, especially in connection with the economic planning system, to complex automation systems and to modern methods of economic management and the Marxist-Leninist science of organization.

From this platform today we should like to express our warm gratitude to our Soviet friends, to the Central Committee of the CPSU headed by its General Secretary, Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, and to the Soviet government, especially its chairman, Comrade Alexei Nikolayevich Kossygin, for this cooperation, assistance and support.

Our social system is the source of our strength. It permits us and obliges us today to look ahead, perhaps to the 50th anniversary of our Republic in the year 1999, that is, to the beginning of the next millenium, in order to deduce from that standpoint the social tasks which we must jointly master during the 1970's.

Our practical experience and our theoretical work in the field of social science have led us to the conclusion that it will take a longer period of time for us to shape the developed system of Socialism. We shall have to invest substantial resources in order to create the new productive forces on the giant scale needed for implementing the scientific and technological revolution in this connection and for bringing the Socialist relations of production to full fruition. That is why we speak of Socialism as being a relatively self-reliant social formation. For this reason, too, we lay such a great stress upon social forecasting and forecasting in science and technology. We do this so that we can predict future developments reliably enough and so that we can make the proper decisions of structural policy in developing our economy. In doing this, we employ the principle of reverse calculation and determine in this manner the main tasks for our long-range plan covering the years 1971 to 1975.

A Safe Foundation for New Pioneering Achievements

The recent negotiations between the party and government delegations of the GDR and the USSR are of great assistance to us. They have made clear to a great degree the quantity of raw materials which will be available to the GDR in this future period. Above and beyond that, a qualitatively new stage in the scientific and technological cooperation between our two countries has also been inaugurated. In this way we have created a safe foundation for joint and coordinated creative work which will lead to new

pioneering deeds and peak-level achievements. They will be a continuation of the achievements we have already made in light-weight metal construction, for example, or in certain sectors of the electronic data processing industry.

In this connection, it is a question of peak-level achievements in structural determinant fields such as the development and preparation of the serial production of an apparatus system for producing micro-masks for semiconductor technology, new numerical control systems for machine tools or numerically controlled processing centres.

Peak achievements of this kind are of extraordinary importance for our entire Socialist society. They were arrived at by means of the Socialist team-work of many scientists, engineers and workers who were guided by the principles of a highly-efficient Socialist organizational science.

The significance of these peak achievements lies especially in the fact that they create important prerequisites for rapidly developing electronic data-processing and computing technology and for the complex automation of the control and production processes.

A few years ago many people were skeptical about our chances for success in building up our own efficient electronic computer industry. Production started up in August 1967. Just a few days ago, the 100th Robotron 300 computer was completed for testing. The employees of the "Robotron" plant have already produced six computers above their plan this year, and their discussions of their plan have resulted in the decision to produce 13 computers more in 1970 than the government plan had foreseen. These are achievements which we can be very proud of indeed!

The Strength of the Socialist System

In the course of this struggle, we are mobilizing the full superiority of the Socialist social system and employing it in determining the outcome of the class conflict. Decisive here is the systematic concentration of forces in connection with the creative initiative of the individual factories and plants themselves.

The systematic reconstruction of the central area of the GDR capital city and the centres of a number of county capitals demonstrates how we can contribute towards determining peak international standards in a relatively short time with the aid of network plans, electronic data processing and

new construction technology. We have succeeded step by step in developing a Socialist architecture and in imaginatively designing whole ensembles of buildings which were constructed in accordance with modern technology. Many of our citizens lent a hand themselves to improve the countenance of our cities. The phrases "my city" and "my village" received new content, a pride in the towns and villages which one built and beautified oneself, and where it is a pleasure to live. This new pride in one's home town and homeland is also one of the sources of the Socialist consciousness which is developing in citizens of the GDR.

In the field of light metal construction we were able to achieve top levels in world standards when we built the Combined Textile Plant in Cottbus in less than a year with the light metal construction method. Not only was a new construction system worked out for this plant within this one year, but also a completely new construction technology as well. Less than seven months was required, from when the first spadeful of earth was dug up to the beginning of production in an area of nearly 20,000 square metres. This meant undercutting the best world achievements thus far by 20 per cent in construction time and by 40 per cent in the quantity of steel required. And it is not the only example of its kind.

Such outstanding results contain lessons of great principle importance. We were able to achieve a unity between the forecasted analysis of the world level and a clear, fighting position for surpassing it, a unity between the development and in production of qualitatively new constructive and technological solutions and the implementation of their serial production in the shortest possible period.

This was only made possible by a strict concentration of efforts and by the application of modern Socialist organization of science which requires such a concentration of efforts. In the combined light metal construction plant, the major research centre, designing, technology and construction management are united into one unified reproduction process. It only took four months for the research staff to work out the completely new construction systems and technological systems. This has established new standards which are valid for everyone and which will establish the general level in the 1970's.

These have been impressive achievements by our Socialist society in the German Democratic Republic and by the working people united within it. They give us good cause to be proud of our Socialist system. But we understand full well that the struggle for high labour productivity in future

must above all be determined by just such pioneering, top-level achievements and by our ability to organize them systematically on a wide scale.

How Is Top-Level Performance Achieved?

Pioneering and top-level performances in science and technology are distinguished by their high degree of creativity. This means that in comparison with the best comparable products known in the world market thus far they possess fundamentally extended or improved qualities or they are produced at a lower cost. We only refer to them as pioneering or top-level performance when the rapid utilization of scientific knowledge is transformed into economic results.

This is the yardstick which must first be used in judging every pioneering or top-level achievement.

Top-level achievements of this kind are not produced by accident. They necessitate, as a prerequisite, planful and scientifically thourough forecasted work in advance. In such forcasts it is not only necessary, as was common in the past, to proceed only from an analysis of future technological developments in one's own particular branch. It is especially necessary, on the contrary, to proceed from the changing long-range needs and requirements in shaping the developed social system of Socialism.

It is only in this way that well-founded decisions on future goals can be achieved for scientific and technological work challenging the creative initiative and imagination of the workers, scientists and engineers, demanding their full knowledge, their skills and the use of their greats personal energies which are really the source of all pioneering and top-level achievements.

The managers of the big enterprises, the research and development institutions, the combined plants and associations of nationally-owned enterprises bear a great responsibility towards our whole society in seeing to it that all conditions consistent with the economic system of Socialism are created which are necessary for achieving pioneering and top-level performance. Their responsibility, which should proceed from targets in the scientific and technological work which are based on economic requirements, must be directed particularly to shaping and developing a highly efficient Socialist organization of scientific work.

Modern Socialist Organization of Scientific Work

By the term "modern Socialist organization of scientific work", we mean the specific way of applying the Marxist-Leninist science of organization to scientific work itself, which has as its content the conscious, systematic coordination and combination of the work of people doing scientific work in compliance with the requirements of the economic system of Socialism. Its goal is to achieve top scientific and technological performance which is highly-effective economically and predominantly in the structurally determinant branches. Its especial aim is to draft and work out research projects for material production from the very beginning in such a way that the result is production according to completely automated mass production methods.

The Socialist organization of science must be able to unfold the creative abilities of the scientists, engineers and workers. Highly-qualified managers must be recruited for this purpose, and the constant further qualification of scientific and technological experts must be guaranteed. The process of planning and managing research and development tasks and the organizational and material conditions for carrying our scientific and technological work in the most rational way possible and for its economic application must accordingly be organized on a scientific basis.

It is necessary to establish strong, efficient cooperative research teams by large-scale socialist industry together with the universities, colleges and institutes of the Academy of Sciences which will base their work on an unsparing comparison with top world standards in their fields.

The modern organization of science should guarantee for the crucial structurally-determinant projects an optimal relationship between basic research, industrial research, designing, construction and the development of those technological processes with a large degree of automation, so that scientific knowledge can be utilized in production within the shortest time possible.

This is where the scientific system is most closely interlocked with the economic system. Proper coordination between the two is an essential prerequisite for solving the most important economic and technological tasks which we now face:

the further development of Socialist planning with the aid of economic-mathematical models and model systems and electronic data-processing equipment;

achieving top quality in the scientific leadership of certain ministries, industrial branches and combined plants;
the creation of a unified system of automated preparation for the production process and the development and production of material, technological equipment for employing complex system solutions in automation. And, finally, the development and operation of productive pilot plant for fully automated mass production in chemical and other technologies which manufacture top-value products of stable quality with mass raw materials in changing combinations.

Our Gratitude for Wonderful Achievements in Automation

We are organizing automation in such a way that it develops in the process of creative human labour and contributes at the same time towards creating new conditions for creative labour. Those are the dialectics of our Socialist automation.

Within only one and a half years, and sometimes in even shorter periods, production was begun in 87 new automated projects in nationally-owned factories and combined works. That is, one might well say, a break-through to a new quality in the struggle for a high productivity of labour.

This represents a great achievement by the workers and engineers, the scientists, by management in the factories and by many party and government functionaries. I cannot pay my respects to these achievements individually; they belong altogether to the great social achievements of the GDR on the eve of its 20th anniversary.

In the struggle to carry out these automation projects in the shortest time possible and with a new quality of Socialist automation, Socialist cooperative work in large teams was necessary. The results and the working methods of those participating in those teams show an impressively positive attitude towards Socialist labour, towards our state, and towards the leading force in it, the party of the working class. It is certainly no exaggeration to say that in the process of this struggle for peak achievements all those participating advanced in their own personal development, both politically and professionally. The successes achieved in the course of such struggles strengthen confidence in the power of our Socialist society and in the potentialities brought into play by our economic system of Socialism. They bear witness to the ability of the working class, in alliance with working

intellectuals, to tackle basic problems of developing the forces of production. They demonstrate what rich sources for increasing our national income can be tapped.

I should like to emphasize particularly that the work of party and government functionaries in this process of automation, characterized as it was by a high sense of social responsibility, resulted in constant attention towards reaching high labour productivity and, closely connected with this, towards improving the working and living conditions of the working people, in part on a qualitatively new basis. This is our Socialist way of automating, with and for the people. We wish to thank once again all who participated in these projects for their fine achievements!

In this way the Socialist German Democratic Republic, a relatively small country, in fraternal cooperation with the Soviet Union and cooperating with the other Socialist countries, can avail itself of the great potential advantages of mass and serial production which permit complex automation to full economic advantage.

Of course, we also favour the exchange of commodities with the capitalist industrial states, including the reciprocal supply of complete industrial plants. We know that our business partners in such transactions are not by any means motivated by the goals of strengthening the GDR or making Socialism more attractive. But regardless of any goals which the monopolists may have aside from making more profits, we develop relations of this kind if they are economically advantageous to us.

Foundations for Socialist Life

In the period between now and 1975, at certain focal points, other material-technological foundations for the lives of people under developed Socialism will also be created–as models, so to speak. Housing, health and sports facilities, culture and adult education for the people will all be developed as a unified social complex. In doing this, we shall search for new and original solutions completely commensurate with the requirements of the developed social system of Socialism. This progress must be aimed particularly at making life easier and pleasanter for the women. Indeed, this is imperative; for just as it is certain that the successes achieved thus far by the GDR would be completely unaccountable if it had not been for the transformation of women's social position, it is equally certain that we

can only master the tasks ahead of us if we create even better conditions for the active participation of the women.

Our comrades working as architects and city planners have recently put forward some interesting designs for such novel social complexes. However, it will be necessary in this connection to win the realization of our citizens for the fact that, unfortunately, not all members of our community can share in these future achievements at one and the same time. It will inevitably be a gradual process and will take some time before we can create modern Socialist facilities everywhere. The thousands of millions in losses inflicted upon us by the imperialists at the time of the open frontier still influence the rate at which we can progress in this field.

Nevertheless, in the 1970's we shall be able to achieve a great many of the things which will determine the character of a fully developed Socialist society.

The Propelling Force in Our Society

We are able to take on such great tasks because our social system of Socialism with its sub-systems is a functioning one. This is particularly true of the economic system of Socialism, which will be completely developed and put into practice in the long-term plan period ahead. We have always referred to the economic system of Socialism as the heart of the developed social system of Socialism. Why have we done so? Because this was a question of the labour of people in material production, that is, their most important activity in life. That is where the working class derives its name–because its decisive achievements are in work, in material production, and because, together with the cooperative farmers and the scientific-technological intellectuals, its work safeguards the foundations of the life of the people.

One of the major conditions for the strength and vitality of every social system is the social propelling force which the ruling class is able to develop in the economy. That is why one of the basic tasks in the transition from capitalism to Socialism is to successfully attain the active and creative participation of the overwhelming majority of working people, especially the members of the working class, in material production and, to the same extent, in the planning and management of the economic process of reproduction.

In a Socialist state where the overwhelming majority of the workers, the

cooperative farmers and the intellectuals view the fulfilment of the tasks of material production as being to their own most basic advantage and constantly continue to educate and train themselves in the process–in such a Socialist state Socialism will be victorious and will fully prove its social superiority over capitalism. There can be no doubt whatsoever about that. The capitalists have nothing to equal the economic initiative developed by people working in this way. Such initiative not only brings about better results but also means that in this important sphere of their lives the working people feel themselves and prove themselves to be human beings who are fully equal members of society. In this sense, our economic system of Socialism contributes very essentially towards developing the Socialist community of man.

What Does it Mean to Be a Socialist Owner?

We have taken the right road with the economic system of Socialism. The target stands clearly before us. The economic system makes the deliberate utilization of the economic laws of Socialism the cause of all working people. One of its basic ideas is to develop and put into practice rules which inspire all workers and work teams to work, plan and reach decisions together at their places of work, but also in planning and guiding their enterprises, in their capacity as Socialist owners of the facilities of production.

Many economic laws, such as the law on economy of time into which, as Marx said, all economy resolves itself, and the efficiency principle, are effective directly at the workbench. Other economic laws are implemented in complicated economic processes. Our economic system aims at having every worker exercise influence on the entire economic development through the part he plays in working out and carrying out the economic plan. This is expressed in the important principle of the economic system which stresses dialectical unity between central government planning and management of the main economic tasks and responsibility of the enterprises and work teams within their separate fields. Central government management of the main economic tasks is nothing more than the expression of the general will of the working people in regard to projects of importance in the life of every member of society. Individual responsibility develops the creative force and initiative of all workers in their own fields, at the work-

bench, within the enterprise, everywhere where each contributes his necessary share to the success of a project as a whole.

The application of the economic system of Socialism in agriculture illustrates the great social and political influence it can exercise. The concrete effects of the economic system helped cooperative farmers to see how thoroughly their own personal interests were looked after or furthered in cooperative Socialist large-scale enterprises. At the same time they were able to understand how these accorded with the interests of the working class and of society as a whole. This accord resulted in a tremendous increase in the creative initiative of men and women farmers after 1960. They overcame the narrow outlook of small property owners. They learned quickly and with astonishing skill to master the functions of large-scale cooperative production. And they completed a basic change in their class. They have now long been concentrating their interest upon effective use of their collectively owned Socialist property. The initiative and qualities of leadership of the most progressive cooperative farmers has now advanced beyond the frontiers of their own agricultural production cooperatives and cooperation associations. They now give valuable advice to the government, not only in regard to economic policy but also in regard to social developments as a whole.

The Economic System of Socialism Benefits the Working People

Along with simple regulations the economic sytem of Socialism of course contains more complicated ones. But its basic idea is simple, and can be understood and taken into account by every worker: the idea that it helps us to make deliberate and planned use of the economic laws of Socialism. With the help of this system we are in a position to control more and more effectively the actions of society in creating the material foundations for living. In this broad sense the economic system of Socialism is the social organization of the entire work process resting on accord between the productive forces and Socialist production relations which makes possible full development of the initiative of the vast majority of workers, co-operative farmers and members of the scientific-technological intelligentsia. This is achieved by encouraging workers and giving them a material incentive to apply the economic laws of Socialism in a deliberate, planned way for the benefit of the enterprise, cooperative farm or institute which, in their

turn, guided by the national economic plan, are concerned with satisfying the needs and interests of society as a whole.

In this way the economic system of Socialism assures that each worker best helps himself when he does his utmost to put the great plan of society as a whole into living practice.

Our Socialist Educational System

We are setting up a system of education based on peak world standards, as an important element of the developed social system of Socialism. This is inseparably linked up with Socialist organization of science and also with the entire social reproduction process. The system of education stretches from nursery school to Academy of Sciences and places ever-increasing stress on further training of all working people, mainly to be carried out by the enterprises and industrial combines.

The educational system, which we have set up and are constantly improving, is one of the finest achievements of our Socialist society. For it is not only directed towards satisfying the working people's desire for knowledge and education arising out of humanist aspirations. The aim is also to achieve significant scientific results, by way of the educational system and organization of science which, when made use of in material production, can strengthen the Socialist state and benefit all members of society. That is why the system of education and science must measure up to the needs of large-scale Socialist production.

An important principle of our education is, therefore, continuous further training of working people. Further training is an objective integral part of the development of our Socialist production, the struggle to do pioneering work and achieve peak results, introduction of complex Socialist automation, application of the Marxist-Leninist science of organization, operations research, cybernetics and the like. No one can today rely on the fund of existing knowledge.

The working people will in increasing numbers advance into new scientific territory. This is today no longer a matter for individuals, since science has become an immediate productive force. In our Socialist society science as a productive force is a force born by the creative faculties of the entire people. This is a decisive source of our superiority. In order to use it effectively we are developing, amongst other things, an entire system of

further training. The main pillars of this system are the factories and combined enterprises, the vocational training institutions and the factory academies. In addition there is today a dense network of branch and central institutions extending to university standard. Only recently we were able to open a new central training centre, the Academy of Marxist-Leninist Science of Organization, in honour of the 20th anniversary. All this shows that the working class is able to master modern science, to develop it further and to arouse the interest of the entire population in science.

The Basic Task in Art

The Socialist social system serves mankind. Culture and sport physical culture and sports are therefore important sub-systems of Socialism.

The main task in culture in the 1970's is to shape the image of man in our Socialist community. It is a question of helping to shape the development and fruition of the new Socialist relationships which link the personality of the individual with his fellow-men and with Socialist society as a whole. It is a matter of advancing to new, forward-looking answers to the question as to the meaning of life in our historical epoch. In order to do this we need new, pioneering achievements in many forms and genres of art.

In addition to the need for masterpieces of professional Socialist art, many people feel a growing need to enter actively into art and culture themselves. Since important intellectual and moral impulses emerge from this source, it is important to give more encouragement to artistic activity both in factory groups and in the residential areas.

A Socialist national culture is an outstanding active contribution to shaping the developed social system of Socialism and at the same time an important intellectual weapon in the ideological class controversy. The GDR will also demonstrate its historic superiority over state monopoly capitalism in West Germany by increasingly successful development as the state of Socialist culture of the German nation.

The Example of Our Sports

Dear Friends and Comrades,

Purposeful, scientific guidance of social developments by the working people themselves, important achievements in science, technology and production, and intensive intellectual work call for a broad development of physical culture and sports. In theory we have certainly worked out correctly what installations are needed for this. Models and examples have already been set up. But a great deal of money and a longer period of time will be needed until we have enough swimming pools and other installations. The development of mass sports is the most important thing. Hundreds of thousands take an active part in games and hiking. They compete in contests but also in quieter forms, thus improving their health and giving expression to their joy in life. This progress cannot be too highly valued as a part of the flourishing of our Socialist community. Children's and youth sports from nursery school to university, and mass sports, improve health and also people's pleasure in important sports achievements.

Popular Sports Activities Are the Basis for Championship Sports

It is well known that our party leadership and government gives constant encouragement to peak achievements in science and industry. The necessary attention has also been paid to championship sports. High honours won at the Olympic Games in Mexico, our track and field athletes' splendid achievements in the European championships, where we won the largest number of medals, of our swimmers, who won both European cups, our winning of the World Cup in volleyball, the World Cup in Motor-cycling and the world championship in angling–all this shows how highly trained our sportsmen are and how enthusiastically they compete to uphold the honour of their Socialist homeland.

How have we achieved this progress in sports? First of all, we have again and again encouraged everyone, old and young, to engage in regular sports activities. Secondly, talent is sought for and then purposefully encouraged and trained. Thirdly, forces are concentrated in those fields in which conditions are favourable. Fourthly, sports science is encouraged and the knowledge put to practical use.

We have succeeded in mastering the art of scientific guidance of championship sports. We shall also develop this quality of guidance in other sub-systems, where the problems are very much more complicated. But—and this is decisive—they are of the same type. This fact gives us the assurance that a high standard of scientific guidance will also be achieved in these fields.

The People Have Learned to Wield Political Power

The state has a big organizing and inspiring role in the social system of Socialism as a whole. The best representatives of the working people are sent to the representative bodies and organs of the workers' and farmers' power. They have learned to maintain the power won and to manage the state and society. The political power of the workers and farmers in the GDR has never been played with. And the working people of the GDR will never permit it to be played with. This was and is for our people especially a vital lesson. For the German imperialists—already responsible for two world wars—whose rule is limited to West Germany, are constantly trying by all means in their power to extend their domination beyond their own frontiers. We point with a touch of irony to this lesson when people try to give us advice in the matter of democracy. One of the most important conditions for the people of the GDR, a condition which guarantees both the existence and the growth of Socialist democracy, is that power must remain in the hands of those social forces which now wield it.

A strengthening of the National People's Army by means of good training and equipment is a matter for the entire people, for everyone is interested in safeguarding peace, and everyone is familiar with the aggressive nature and the cunning methods of West German imperialism. We express our thanks to the soldiers, non-commissioned officers, officers and generals of the National People's Army and to all GDR security forces for their vigilance and unremitting efforts to maintain a high standard of preparedness.

Our state is moving more and more successfully forward to the use of scientific methods of guidance and to arriving at basically valid solutions of fundamental social problems in the GDR. At the same time it is succeeding better and better in giving social and government initiative a mass character.

The Socialist way of life is taking on more and more clearly defined traits as a result of the fact that the Socialist state, proceeding from the basic aims of society, guarantees harmonious coordination of the sub-systems of the developed social system of Socialism. Following the victory of Socialist production relations, it is a matter in the 1970's of mastering qualitatively new, more advanced tasks within the Socialist order of society. It is a matter of finding the best ways for the people to develop their Socialist society fully and to shape the community of man. The Socialist character of relations between people in our society will become more and more clearly marked, in the factories, in work teams, in the family and in community recreation. The increasingly effective Socialist production relations will promote cooperation, comradeship and friendship, solidarity and mutual helpfulness, and the Socialist consciousness of the working people.

New Impulses in Future Development

The economic laws of Socialism, including the efficiency principle, will certainly be fully effective in the 1970's. But a forecast of society already reveals that, above and beyond the efficiency principle, new social and moral impulses arising out of a Communist consciousness and Communist attitudes will be at work. All these tendencies will further strengthen the driving social forces of Socialism. For the members of the community will take a more active part and will cooperate in arriving at the aims of the society which is their own and for which it is worth while to live and struggle.

In order to demonstrate the all-round superiority of Socialism we shall place the sum total of knowledge in the service of the Socialist community of man. The social sciences, natural sciences and the technical sciences will be promoted as a complex entity, so that they have a part in reaching peak scientific and technological standards in just those fields of life and of the economy which play the biggest part in making our community flourish. The social sciences will develop much more than hitherto into a big productive force. They must therefore be encouraged in such a way that, together with the natural and technical sciences, they can produce all the conditions necessary for well qualified planning, guidance and organization of the developed social system of Socialism.

The vanguard of the working class and of the entire working people, our Socialist Unity Party, faces new and inspiring problems in the 1970's. Our party has always worked, fought and studied tirelessly. It has succeeded in creating confidence and giving confidence. It has rallied round it all the working people, all the democratic and patriotic forces of our people and won them over and imbued them with enthusiasm to take the path of peace and Socialism jointly. Together with the other friendly parties and the forces united within the National Front, it has moved the masses to creative action. It has learned how to lead the development of society in a scientific way. Our party can concentrate its powers increasingly on thoroughly investigating and mastering problems of a strategic character.

Honoured guests,
Dear friends and comrades,
Citizens of the GDR,

The balance of the first twenty years of the Socialist state of the German nation shows that we are on the side of the victors of history. The results of these twenty years–achieved in close friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other Socialist countries–also constitute a good and solid foundation for the development of our people and state in the coming decades and for the growth of our Socialist community and its reputation throughout the world.

We are confident, convinced, that our people–united in their working classes and strata, as our Constitution puts it–will master the tasks and problems of the future in joint work and together with our friends throughout the world.

Forward with new strength to further successes and victories for Socialism and peace!

Long live the Socialist German Democratic Republic, may it flourish and prosper!

GERALD GÖTTING
Chairman of the Christian Democratic Union of Germany and Deputy Chairman of the GDR State Council

Honourable Chairman of the Council of State,
Honourable Guests,
Dear Friends,

Twenty years of the German Democratic Republic–this means twenty years in which we ensured peace and built up Socialism with one another and for one another–twenty years in which all forces of our people rallied in the National Front and jointly fulfilled great tasks–twenty years in which the fellowship between Marxists and Christians in solving all basic questions of society proved necessary and unbreakable.

We Christian Democrats are proud and happy to know that we have our part in the great historical change on German soil which is embodied in the development and strengthening of the German Democratic Republic. This state contains within itself our own work, our desires and our own aims. We have become attached to it during the two decades we helped to form it and to bear responsibility.

In a state like ours where peace and humaneness, social justice and brotherliness have been made the dominating ideals of its social order and the determining principles of its policy–in a state like ours where these maxims are being realized consistently and ever more comprehensively, in such a state Christians feel at home, have a good conscience when they help to build social life, and gladly take upon themselves part of the responsibility for the whole.

"Christianity and the humanist aims of Socialism are no opposites," said Walter Ulbricht in his Declaration of Principles in parliament on 4 October 1960. This corresponds completely with the experiences we Christians have gathered in the two decades during which we gave of our own in democratic and Socialist construction. Time and again our belief has proved true that the German Democratic Republic is our social and spiritual homeland because

- here the honest Christians' centuries-old yearnings for a community without exploitation and war has finally come true.

- Here we can practise our love for peace and our duties to our neighbours on a completely new scale and in harmony with the interests of the whole of society.

- Here is the state we may rightly call the Socialist homeland of all of us.

Such a state became possible because the working class and its united and revolutionary party took over leadership and because it united all social forces in the struggle for progress. This was the prerequisite for observing the lessons of history and for exterminating imperialism and fascism, for bringing about a fundamental change in state and society as well as in the economy and culture, and to develop completely new community relations.

In this community we Christian Democrats have found our place–here we have won the platform which we can actively and effectively take part in the development and growth of our Socialist homeland. What did the community of interests with the party of the working class, and the trustful cooperation with all democratic forces give us?

- It gave us the happy assurance of being able to successfully help build up a new and better world in a firm alliance with friends pursuing the same social aims and in accordance with our epoch's basic law of the world-wide transition from capitalism to Socialism.
- These common interests enabled us to help change the conditions in our country in the direction of the whole nation's and all humanity's Socialist future–and in so doing to change ourselves: to overcome encumbering traditions and ingrained scruples, to integrate our own social thought and action into the common will and work of all forces fighting for peace and progress.
- Trusting the lead of the working-class party we gained the freedom and scope to make a creative contribution to all the pace-making achievements that characterize the two decades of the German Democratic Republic's existence.
- Going together with the working-class party gave us new insights into social relations and laws of development, widened our mental horizon and greatly enriched our own personalities.

The accompanying social and individual changes brought with them all kinds of problems and conflicts which have not yet been solved everywhere. Nevertheless, looking backwards we can feel gratified and say: We have made important progress in strengthening the political and moral unity of our people; we were able to win over the great majority of Christian citizens to help build up our Socialist Republic. With the same rights and under the same obligations as all other citizens thousands and thousands of Christians are working today at forming life in our community.

They have become "authorities" themselves–and this was possible because in our state each is the other one's brother and friend.

Everyone can see today that our work has paid. The twenty years of the German Democratic Republic's existence have yielded rich fruits, and these fruits are the result of our joint work. This century's longest period of peace in Europe, the steadily growing international repute of the German peace state, the political and economic stability and the secure future of our Republic, the rise and extension of the Socialist community of man, the growing civic activity and consciousness of unnumbered Christians–all these are undeniable successes in our common work–facts that do not fail to impress church circles either.

The majority of church dignitaries and also the leading church circles in our Republic are increasingly drawing conclusions from the fact that the Socialist Constitution of the German Democratic Republic grants the religious community a good and at the same time the only possible basis to do their duties in the new social surroundings and the constitutional reality of the Socialist state of the German nation. We welcome the increasing number of positive results coming from endeavours towards normal relationships between the churches and the state. We are convinced that further progress will be possible in this way. Here the insight our friend, Bishop D. Mitzenheim, expressed at the meeting at Wartburg Castle on 19 August this year will be decisive: "Today humanist responsibility means, out of humaneness and for the sake of the people to make one's decision for the path to Socialism which–as our Constitution says–leads into a future of peace."

For most of the Christian citizens of our Republic the years have long since passed by when many of them would fearfully ask and doubt whether a Christian could live under Socialism. Socialist practice, shaped by Marxists and Christians together, has long since given the answer to such questions.

In the German Democratic Republic we are proving in the eyes of all people how promising a part Christians can play in Socialism and with what beneficial effect this can be done for the whole of society and thus for us Christians, too. This example of Marxists, Christians and all other humanist forces working together as friends for the benefit of the people and for peace is gaining a more and more enduring influence, also beyond the frontiers of our Republic, in West Germany and in other capitalist countries.

We Christian Democrats have linked our social thought and action closely and inseparably to the further Socialist prospects of the German Democratic Republic, with the interests of the Socialist community, because these prospects are also those of the Christian citizens of our state and because these interests are ours too. We have been confirmed in this attitude by the very experiences of the recent past when we helped prepare the 20th birthday of the German Democratic Republic by what we did within the Socialist people's movement and in the National Front.

We will let ourselves be led by these experiences when we cross the threshold into the third decade of the German Democratic Republic. As before, we will do everything in the future to continue the all-round and systematic formation of the developed Socialist society in the GDR so that peace and security in Europe may be ensured and German imperialism and militarism never again start a devastating war. To act in this way is something we owe to our Republic and to our Christian conscience alike. For our Socialist homeland, in love and deed!

DR. MANFRED GERLACH
Chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany and Deputy Chairman of the GDR State Council

Honourable Chairman of the Council of State,
Ladies and Gentlemen,
Dear Friends,

Twenty years of the existence and growth of the German Democratic Republic–that permits me today, in this festive hour, to make the conclusive statement that our Republic has grown to an impressive greatness also as a result of the work of the Liberal Democrats in firm alliance with all democratic forces under the leadership of the working class and its party. At the same time that permits me to answer the question of what, in fact, this state means to the Liberal Democratic Party and its supporters.

Twenty years of the German Democratic Republic–that counts for more than the history of all previous German states. To us that is the fulfilment of the longing and the striving of the best sons of the German people, its great poets and thinkers, its bold revolutionary fighters. For they are 20 years of the first state of peace and liberty, of democracy and security, of justice and humanity in German history. In the alliance embracing millions of our people, on a Socialist basis, what Johann Gottfried Herder once saw as a vision in the "Letters for the Advancement of Humanity" is coming true: "No one for himself alone, each for all, thus are you valuable to each other and happy."

In the Socialist community, the most significant success of these 20 years, lives the responsibility for the whole, the efforts of the individual to orientate feelings and wishes, thoughts and actions on the high social objectives, to be great in a great time.

Man ripens to self-realization, in the Socialist community, the happiness of the people becomes, instead of an unfulfillable dream of previous centuries, the fulfilment of our time.

Yes, every day in the many thousand days of our Republic has confirmed it: Here a new civic sense is growing and becoming effective, the readiness to assume and bear responsibility, doing things with and for each other, the harmony of the humanist spirit and state power. Man is the measure of all things. The people's will causes the boldest hopes of mankind to become reality.

What inspired the good ideas? What moved people to great activity? What repeatedly spurred people on in this time, from the difficult beginning of the women who cleared the rubble to the completion of the towering huge structures of Socialism? What caused workers and farmers, intel-

lectuals and craftsmen, artists and private partners in enterprises with state participation, teachers and soldiers always to give of their best? What, in fact, causes our constitutional principle "take part in working, planning and governing!" to become a million-fold fact?

The dynamics of our Socialist Republic derives its force from the alliance of the people under the leadership of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, from the insight of people of all classes and strata into the requirements of the laws of development of human society. Only on this foundation, on the foundation of two victorious revolutions, could our home, the German Democratic Republic, become the real, Socialist homeland of the people, a bulwark of popular sovereignty, a strong bastion of the Socialist community of states.

Dear Friends,

It is an elevating feeling to know that the building on this house, the GDR, the organization of our social relations, has in fact become a "res publica", a public matter. That was by no means a smooth process of transforming one's own consciousness and personality, especially for several tens of thousands of people of middle-class origin. A process which, since 1945, thanks to the effect and force of conviction of Socialist democracy lets once despairing people become hopeful, lets hopeless people become enthusiasts, causes those who look to become those who leap, cause the wavering to push forward. A process leading ever more consciously to partisanship for Socialism, the humanity of our century.

For long years, far too long years "the incriminated combinations of power of the Junkers, the military and big business which bear the responsibility for two world wars"–Thomas Mann–had also held the middle classes of the people in Germany in the chains of dependence on them and under their influence. That was always and always will be disastrous to them.

The workers' and farmers' powers has–for the first time in German history–also given a firm place in society to people from the bourgeoisie and the middle classes who are willing to build, a place which does justice to their own interests and those of the Socialist community. Out of the unstable intermediate strata in moribund capitalism develop stable alliance partners of the working class in the Socialist state of the German nation–vigorously acting rulers and shapers of their own destiny.

Dear Friends,

While we are preparing the ground for the self-realization of man in the tested community of the National Front of Democratic Germany, unfolding and safeguarding his dignity and personality, his liberty and creativity, the monopoly and finance capitalists in the West German Federal Republic are trampling human rights underfoot, now as before steering the dangerous and disastrous course of greater German power politics, aggressive and presumptuous, arrogant and crafty, violent and adventurist–so are the characteristic features of West German imperialism exposed in all sharpness. Disturber of the peace and centre of expansion in Europe–that is the fruit of its policy over the past two decades. But that clearly shows that the German Democratic Republic is the only alternative to the moribund capitalist Bonn regime, a social system over which history has long since pronounced judgment. The road of the GDR, at the side of the Soviet Union and the other states of the Socialist family of peoples, is the only possible road to a peaceful and democratic future for our people.

Dear Friends,

Johannes Dieckmann, the unforgotten President of the People's Chamber from 1949 until his premature death in February of this year, expressed the hope at the beginning of our road that "a state, economic and social order" would come into existence on German soil "governed only by the principles of brotherliness and justice". With all of us he helped to erect it. The power of our alliance, which is constantly consolidating, has brought about great and abiding results. And still greater results will be achieved so that our life will be still richer and still more satisfying.

Millions of citizens in town and countryside achieved great performances for the all-round strengthening of our Republic. Millions of citizens draw the strength and inspiration to master the tasks of shaping the developed social system of Socialism out of the successful results of the road travelled up to now.

Twenty years of the existence and growth of our Republic have proved what militant humanism can do when it grows out of the revolutionary spirit of the working class and the scientific art of leadership of its party, out of the progressive heritage of the great figures of German and world culture, out of the brilliant ideas and deeds of the working people of all classes and strata.

Twenty years of the existence and growth of our Republic corroborate

the truth that the road to Socialism is the main road of our century. We are proud and happy that in the alliance of the people we Liberal Democrats are also striding forward and upward on this road. Forward into the third decade of our Republic of peace. Upward to the completed Socialist society, to peace, security and the happiness of the people.

DR. HEINRICH HOMANN

Executive Chairman of the National Democratic Party of Germany and Deputy Chairman of the GDR State Council

Honoured Chairman of the State Council,
Dear Guests,
Dear Friends,

With all the citizens of our Socialist state of the German nation we members of the National Democratic Party of Germany are now celebrating the twentieth anniversary of the founding of our German Democratic Republic, happy about our achievements and filled with pride in our young state, to which we dedicate our love, our confidence and all our energies.

We have contributed all we could towards the full development of our republic and have become in the process what we are today, citizens of our state who are endowed in complete equality with both rights and responsibilities.

We regard the things we have experienced in this process as the most valuable achievements in our lives, for they represent the truth about the past, the present and the future.

At the beginning we had to make a break with the terrible past, a final rejection of German imperialism and its militarism. This recognition that imperialism cannot be reconciled with the genuine interests of the nation meant liberation from error and deception. This led us to an understanding of the national role of the working class in our epoch, it represented a new and different path, a discovery of Socialism.

For craftsmen and shop-keepers, salesmen and small businessmen, for middle-class intellectuals and creative workers, the greatest experience in the two decades of the German Democratic Republic was to receive the historical confirmation that they had made the correct decision when they joined together with the class which struggles together with all others to win for everyone peace and happiness, security and peaceful prosperity, freedom, democracy and Socialism and which is firmly determined to defeat imperialism in achieving these high ideals–when they joined, that is, with the united working class and its party.

This correct decision in the question of state power was our decision for the future. Only when the working class occupies the position required of it by history, only when it leads the nation, can the members of the urban middle class find a secure and respected place in society.

Basing itself on this principle, which also determined out position towards the Soviet Union, the first country where the working class established its power, the National Democratic Party of Germany chose its

stand, from the day it was founded, in the conflict between progress and reaction in Germany. Basing ourselves on these principles, we supported the founding of the German Democratic Republic, which was a reply to the creation of the split-off state in Bonn which guaranteed continued historical progress in our part of Germany.

Our cooperation in shaping a new society provided us with access to those elements of German history which were good and honorable. It helped us understand the struggle by the vanguard of the German working class and thus provided us with a set of values and a yardstick for judging the actions of people from our class in the struggle for the benefit of the whole nation. We thus came to understand our GDR in terms of its historical roots and as a climax in the long path our people have had to take in finally coming to rule their own destinies.

Our cooperation with the working class, under its leadership, is based on the lessons we have learned from history; it is also the result of our experience during twenty years of our efforts for the GDR. The members of the middle class have found that the strengthening of workers' and farmers' power is a basic condition for the solution of all the problems of our people. Today, too, when the shaping of the developed social system of Socialism marks a new chapter in our history, cooperation in solving the basic tasks in our German Democratic Republic remains decisive for the growth of our socialist community. Today, too, if they are closely allied with the working class, the members of the old middle class can discover the pleasure of working for and contributing towards social and scientific-technological progress. We believe that the exercise of our share of responsibility in society consists basically in ideologically encouraging socialist cooperation between the enterprises of business partners of the government (former private owners), craftsmen and shop-keepers and the nationally-owned enterprises and, connected closely with this, in promoting and encouraging cultural and intellectual life among the members of groups and strata close to us. This is the way for members of these strata to contribute best towards developing productive forces and providing our population with high-quality commodities, services and repair work. At the same time, this Socialist cooperation creates new social relationships which fulfil the spirit of the development of our Socialist community.

Those of our party members who are instructors, teachers and college staff members are doing everything they can to fulfil the tasks of our unified Socialist educational system. Members of our party who are

artists, writers or who are engaged as amateurs in the arts are taking an active part in shaping the Socialist national culture which is developing.

By ideologically encouraging actions which best correspond with the requirements of this new chapter in the development of our social system. we National Democrats are making our contribution towards strengthening and further shaping socialism in the German Democratic Republic. We view this as an economic, a political and a moral duty and obligation, which will serve in the all-round strengthening of our republic, in further improving the living standards of our population, in strengthening Socialism as a system in the whole world and in its victorious struggle with imperialism. Conscious activity in favour of a social system in which the basic interests of all citizens coincide with those of all its groups and of society as a whole seems to us to be the best implementation of the national and democratic goals of our party.

The German Democratic Republic, our Socialist homeland, is the embodiment of everything which we are aiming for. Our system of humanity and of guaranteed peace has made a new and better life for everyone possible. Our meaningful lives are themselves a witness of the ability of Socialism to modify and improve people. Protecting and defending the achievements of our state and augmenting them through our labour is both our well-founded right and our conscious obligation, it is the consistent conclusion resulting from the civic thinking, the civic action and the Socialist consciousness of our members.

Speaking on behalf of all members of the National Democratic Party of Germany, therefore, I wish to declare here, on the eve of the third decade of our republic:

We shall do everything within our power, at the side of and under the leadership of the working class and its party and within the joint framework of the National Front of Democratic Germany, to fulfil the obligations given us by the Socialist Constitution and the historic mission of our Socialist, peace-loving state.

The efforts of us, the National Democrats, must also be included when Socialism, vision of the future and future certainty, reaches fruition in our homeland.

ERNST GOLDENBAUM
Chairman of the Democratic Farmers' Party
of Germany
and Member of the Presidium
of the People's Chamber of the GDR

Honourable Chairman of the Council of State,
Ladies and Gentlemen,
Dear Friends,

When we look back today on that tremendous work accomplished by our people under the leadership of the united working class and its party, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, then it is an important part of this revolutionary transformation that for the first time in Germany GDR farmers have successfully entered the road to Socialism in a developed industrial country under the creative application of the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

Decisive prerequisites for the greatest transformation in their life and in their development linked with it were created after the liberation from Hitlerite fascism by the glorious Soviet Army with the united action of the working class and the carrying through of the democratic land reform.

With this up to then biggest victorious revolutionary mass action of workers and farmers in German history the militarist big landowners and the nazi war criminals were deprived of power. The alliance of the working class with the working peasants thus received a broad, indestructible foundation as the decisive basis of all our successes.

As members of the Democratic Farmers' Party of Germany (DBD) it fills us with great satisfaction that the work of our party is inseparably linked with the consolidation of this alliance which forms the heart of the community of interests of all democratic and peace-loving forces.

Arising out of the work to consolidate the anti-fascist, democratic order, especially the democratic land reform and against backward and hostile forces, the DBD gained new forces among working peasants for political collaboration in the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress. That meant at the same time a strengthening of the anti-fascist and democratic bloc.

Its members took part in the consolidation and strengthening of the young workers' and farmers' power with numerous initiatives and significant performances. Our party not only approved the resolutions of the Second Party Conference of the SED for building the foundations of Socialism, but made an important contribution to winning the working farmers, especially the middle peasants, for the agricultural production cooperatives (LPGs) and the victory of Socialist relations of production in the countryside.

This road from I to we, which demanded the overcoming of many conflicts as well as of old modes of thinking and living, was an important stage in that transformation of people and the formation of the Socialist community, which we quite rightly designate as the greatest achievement of our joint work under the leadership of the SED in the second decade.

Today the picture of the villages is stamped by self-confident and educated men and women farmers, the masters of modern technology, who organize on their own responsibility their working and living conditions in their LPGs in accordance with the Socialist Constitution and on the basis of the laws.

The position and development of the woman farmer on a basis of equality is part of the picture of our villages today; the same comprehensive educational possibilities as in the towns, young people eager to learn and an atmosphere of learning among adults, and finally a growing intellectual and cultural life are also part of the picture.

The contribution of our party to this great transformation has had great recognition. We gratefully recall the words of our honourable friend, Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the SED and Chairman of the Council of State, on the occasion of a reception for the Presidium of our party executive, that the DBD is the most modern farmers' party that ever existed in Germany because it is guided by the knowledge of the most up-to-date social science, agrobiology and technology and can therefore show big successes in its work.

On the 20th anniversary we thank the Central Committee of the SED, led by First Secretary Walter Ulbricht, for the valuable advice and constant support which it gave and gives our party. Our members at the same time appreciate with great gratitude just these days the great, unselfish and all-round help of the Soviet Union for our workers' and farmers' state in all the years from the liberation right down to the present.

Twenty years after the founding of the Bonn divisionist state West German farmers face the catastrophic consequences of imperialist policy and an anti-national agrarian policy. Today they are faced by the fact that as a result of state monopoly rule over 500,000 peasant holdings have been ruined and nearly a further million peasants have been forced to take up auxiliary employment.

Socially degraded, marked by an educational emergency, with almost a quarter of their possessions mortgaged to bank capital, West German farmers are threatened today by growing insecurity.

The causes of this failure lie primarily in Bonn's anti-national policy of expansion, in the consequences of the connection with aggressive US imperialism and with NATO and the EEC.

Also for West German farmers the GDR is an illustrative example of the fact that only joint struggle with the working class against the omnipotence of the monopolies, for peace, democracy and social progress can change their situation.

We see our main task, in the sense of the resolutions of our Eighth Party Congress, to further promote Socialist consciousness and the conscious political action of the members of our party for the political, economic, cultural and military strengthening of our Socialist state of the German nation by means of intensified political and ideological work.

In these days and weeks the members of our party are making great efforts with all cooperative farmers to mitigate the consequences of the dry summer by utilizing the advantages of voluntary cooperation between their LPGs. In this the highest possible production results in fulfilment of the 1969 national economic plan and good prerequisites for the 1970 plan are in the foreground of the emulation.

Dear Friends,

On the threshold of the third decade of our Socialist republic we are aware that the decisive years in the shaping of the developed social system of Socialism under the conditions of the scientific and technological revolution lie ahead of us.

The implementation of our clear and inspiring prospects, the reliable protection of Socialist achievements, require a high consciousness and great energy from everyone, and is our highest obligation.

In the fraternal alliance with the mighty Soviet Union and the countries of the Socialist community of states the German Democratic Republic will continue to grow strong and do justice to its international obligation in the class dispute with imperialism, in the struggle of the peoples for peace, democracy, social progress and national liberation.

Permit me to give assurance that the members of the Democratic Farmers' Party of Germany will contribute to this with all their efforts at the side of the working class in the tested community of the National Front under the leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

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